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RELEASED IN PART
B1, 1.4(B), 1.4(D)

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	EAP-01	EB-01	EUR-01	OIGO-01	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00
	IO-16	JUSE-00	L-01	ADS-00	NEA-01	NSAE-00	NSCE-00
	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01	SB-00
	SNP-00	SP-00	SR-00	SSO-00	STR-01	TRSE-00	T-00
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EUR/WE: ACARSON (INFO)
AF/C: DPRAWSON

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AMEMBASSY CANBERRA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY DAKAR PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY HARARE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY TUNIS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BANGUI
AMEMBASSY BRAZZAVILLE
CJCS WASHDC 0000
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
SECDEF WASHDC 0000
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 189038

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ARCHIE M BOLSTER
CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL REASON: 1.4(B), 1.4(D)
DECLASSIFY AFTER: 15 JUL 2015
DATE/CASE ID: 04 NOV 2011 201005065

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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: MOPS PREL PHUM PREF RW
SUBJECT: RPF TO HALT OFFENSIVE BY FRIDAY NIGHT?

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY. ON JULY 14, AF PRESSED THE RPF TO AGREE TO AN IMMEDIATE CEASE-FIRE TO AVERT A HUMANITARIAN DISASTER OF UNPRECEDENTED PROPORTIONS. IN RESPONSE TO A TELEPHONE DEMARCHE BY AF DAS BUSHNELL, RPF COMMANDER KAGAME PROMISED TO HALT THE RPF ADVANCE BY TOMORROW EVENING (JULY 15) RWANDAN TIME. HIS WILLINGNESS TO MAKE SUCH A COMMITMENT CONTRASTED WITH THE RESPONSE OF THE RPF REPRESENTATIVES IN WASHINGTON, WHO TOLD AF/C THAT THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR GENOCIDE MUST BE "BROUGHT UNDER CONTROL"

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FIRST. END SUMMARY.

KAGAME SAYS RPF WILL HALT FIGHTING FRIDAY PM

3. WITH REFUGEES POURING INTO ZAIRE AND THE FRENCH SAFE ZONE, DAS BUSHNELL CALLED RPF COMMANDER PAUL KAGAME ON THE AFTERNOON OF JULY 14 TO URGE THE RPF TO AGREE TO AN IMMEDIATE CEASE-FIRE. KAGAME SAID THE RPF WAS PLANNING TO CALL A CEASE-FIRE IN A FEW DAYS BUT NEEDED TO CONSOLIDATE THEIR POSITION FIRST.

4. DAS BUSHNELL REPLIED THAT THE WORLD COULD NOT WAIT, THE FIGHTING HAD TO STOP NOW. SHE POINTED OUT THAT THE REGION FACED A HUMANITARIAN CATASTROPHE AND THAT THE WORLD PERCEPTION WAS THAT THE RPF WAS AT FAULT FOR INSISTING ON ADVANCING ON GISENYI, FORCING HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF RWANDANS TO FLEE INTO ZAIRE AND THE FRENCH SAFE ZONE. DAS BUSHNELL THEN INFORMED KAGAME OF THE U.S. DECISION, ANNOUNCED THAT SAME DAY, TO DECLARE THAT THE UNITED STATES DOES NOT RECOGNIZE ANY GOVERNMENT IN RWANDA AND THAT WE WERE TREATING BOTH SIDES ON AN EQUAL BASIS.

5. KAGAME WAS EXTREMELY PLEASED BY THIS DECISION (WHICH EFFECTIVELY "DE-RECOGNIZES" THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT). HE THEN SAID THAT THE RPF WOULD STOP ITS ADVANCE BY TOMORROW NIGHT (JULY 15) RWANDA TIME. HOWEVER, HE REFUSED TO NEGOTIATE WITH ELEMENTS IN THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT FORCES WHICH HAVE RECENTLY REACHED OUT TO THE RPF, ALTHOUGH HE

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6. KAGAME SAID THE RPF WILL ASK THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO BRING THE KILLERS TO JUSTICE. DAS BUSHNELL ASSURED HIM THIS WAS BEING ADDRESSED, ALTHOUGH IT WOULD TAKE A FEW MONTHS. HE APPEALED FOR A RAPID EXPANSION OF UNAMIR, AND DAS BUSHNELL EXPLAINED THAT WE WERE DOING EVERYTHING WE COULD TO ACHIEVE THAT GOAL.

7. DAS BUSHNELL URGED KAGAME TO TALK TO THE FRENCH AND UNAMIR COMMANDER DALLAIRE. KAGAME SAID HE DID NOT WISH TO TALK TO THE FRENCH BUT WOULD TALK TO DALLAIRE. DAS BUSHNELL AND KAGAME AGREED THAT THEY WOULD SPEAK AGAIN TOMORROW AT 9 PM RWANDA TIME TO CONFIRM THAT THE FIGHTING HAD STOPPED. DAS BUSHNELL ADDED THAT SHE WAS COUNTING ON HIM.

LOCAL RPF REPS MUCH LESS FORTHCOMING ON CEASE-FIRE

8. SHORTLY BEFORE THE BUSHNELL/KAGAME CALL, AF/C (AMBASSADOR RAWSON AND DESKOFF AISTON) CONVOKED LOCAL RPF REPRESENTATIVES CHARLES MURIGANDE AND GERARD GAHIMA TO URGE AN IMMEDIATE CEASE-FIRE AND DISCUSS OTHER ISSUES. RAWSON POINTED OUT THAT THE ENORMOUS DISLOCATIONS OF POPULATIONS CAUSED BY CONTINUED FIGHTING WAS OVERWHELMING THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND THAT WE FACED A HUMANITARIAN DISASTER OF INCREDIBLE PROPORTIONS. WHILE WE HAVE BEEN CALLING FOR A CEASE-FIRE FOR WEEKS, THE HUMANITARIAN CRISIS MADE IT AN IMPERATIVE OF THE HIGHEST ORDER. WE WERE PARTICULARLY CONCERNED AT THE GROWING

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NUMBER OF PRECONDITIONS THE RPF SEEMED TO BE SETTING FOR A CEASE-FIRE.

9. RAWSON NOTED THAT ELEMENTS OF THE GOR FORCES HAD MADE CONCILIATORY OVERTURES AND THAT THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT HAD RECENTLY ISSUED A STATEMENT REFLECTING A MORE FLEXIBLE POSITION. HE EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THE RPF WAS IN TOUCH WITH THOSE MAKING OVERTURES ON THE OTHER SIDE AND NOTED THAT THEY WILL BE NEEDED TO HELP REACH A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT AND REBUILD THE COUNTRY.

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10. GAHIMA REPLIED THAT THEY ARE CONCERNED ABOUT THE HUMANITARIAN CRISIS; HOWEVER, HE CLAIMED THAT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FRENCH ZONE HAD EXACERBATED THE PROBLEM BECAUSE THE MILITIAS AND EXTREMISTS HAVE BEEN PUSHING CIVILIAN POPULATIONS INTO THE ZONE INSTEAD OF ENCOURAGING PEOPLE TO STAY PUT. GAHIMA EMPHASIZED THE PEACEFUL CONDITIONS IN RPF-HELD TERRITORY AND SAID THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY SHOULD BE ENCOURAGING THE DISPLACED RWANDANS TO RETURN HOME.

11. GAHIMA AND MURIGANDE IGNORED OUR CALLS FOR AN IMMEDIATE CEASE-FIRE AND SAID THAT THE CRIMINALS BEHIND GOVERNMENT LINES MUST BE BROUGHT UNDER CONTROL FIRST. IN THEIR VIEW, THIS WAS A PREREQUISITE TO ENSURING THE SAFETY OF THE POPULATION AND THE VIABILITY OF DEMOCRACY AND RECONCILIATION IN RWANDA. AT THE SAME TIME, THE RPF WOULD FORM A BROAD-BASED TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT. WHEN THESE TWO MISSIONS WERE ACCOMPLISHED, THE STAGE WOULD BE SET FOR LONG-TERM STABILITY, PEACE, AND DEMOCRACY IN RWANDA. UNTIL THOSE TWO ISSUES WERE ADDRESSED, THEY

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IMPLIED THAT THE RPF WOULD NOT BE INTERESTED IN A
CEASE-FIRE.

IN THEIR VIEW, THE OTHER SIDE IS COMMITTED TO THE DESTRUCTION OF THE RPF AND ITS SUPPORTERS. THE CONTINUED EXISTENCE OF THE BAND OF CRIMINALS ON THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT SIDE WOULD MAKE FUTURE PEACE AND DEMOCRACY IMPOSSIBLE.

13. DESKOFF POINTED OUT THE ILLOGICAL POSITION OF THE RPF. THEY COULD NOT EXPECT THE MILLIONS OF CIVILIANS IN THE GOVERNMENT ZONE TO STAY PUT OR RETURN TO THEIR HOMES BEHIND RPF LINES AS LONG AS THE RPF CONTINUED ITS ADVANCE. IF THE RPF ZONE WAS SAFE, THEY SHOULD CEASE THEIR OFFENSIVE AND ALLOW POPULATIONS TO RETURN. AS FOR THEIR GOAL OF GETTING "CONTROL" OVER THE CRIMINALS, IT MADE NO SENSE TO DISPLACE MILLIONS OF INNOCENT CIVILIANS IN AN ATTEMPT TO CAPTURE A FEW HUNDRED LEADERS OF THE GENOCIDAL CAMPAIGN WHO COULD EASILY STEP ACROSS THE BORDER INTO ZAIRE RIGHT BEFORE THE RPF REACHES GISENYI.

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THE RPF WOULD THEN BE FACED WITH A HOSTILE FORCE ACROSS
THE BORDER WITH A LARGE REFUGEE POPULATION POSSIBLY
SUPPORTING IT. THIS WAS CERTAINLY NOT IN THEIR
INTEREST. DESKOFF URGED THE RPF TO LEAVE IT TO THE
INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO BRING THESE PEOPLE TO JUSTICE.

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14. GAHIMA AND MURIGANDE SEEMED COMPLETELY UNMOVED BY
THESE ARGUMENTS. AMBASSADOR RAWSON EXPRESSED CONCERN
THAT, FOR THE FIRST TIME, WE WERE HEARING INDICATIONS
THAT THE RPF WANTED A TOTAL VICTORY. GAHIMA DID NOT
DISAGREE AND DREW THE ANALOGY TO THE U.S. INSISTENCE ON
TOTAL VICTORY OVER NAZI GERMANY IN WORLD WAR II,
REGARDLESS OF THE POSSIBLE HUMAN SUFFERING CAUSED TO
CIVILIAN POPULATIONS.

OPERATION TURQUOISE AND UNAMIR

15. RAWSON STRESSED THE POSITIVE ASPECTS OF THE FRENCH
OPERATION AND NOTED THAT THE FRENCH HAVE SAVED A LOT OF
LIVES. HE WELCOMED THE INCREASED DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE
RPF AND THE FRENCH AND URGED THE RPF TO COOPERATE WITH
THE FRENCH, WHO ARE FACED WITH AN INCREDIBLY DIFFICULT
SITUATION. THE RPF REPS HAD COME TO THE MEETING WITH A
PRESS STATEMENT DATED JULY 13 ONCE AGAIN CRITICIZING THE
FRENCH OPERATION AND AMB. RAWSON SAID HE WOULD DISCUSS
THE RPF'S ALLEGATIONS WITH THE FRENCH.

16. ON UNAMIR, RAWSON EXPLAINED THAT ALL OF US,
INCLUDING THE FRENCH, SHARE THE GOAL OF HAVING UN
PEACEKEEPERS REPLACE THE FRENCH AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. HE
OUTLINED OUR EFFORTS TO EXPEDITE UNAMIR DEPLOYMENT,
INCLUDING HIS RECENT TRIP TO THE EU AFRICA GROUP MEETING
TO DRUM UP SUPPORT FOR EQUIPPING AFRICAN CONTINGENTS.

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NEW GOVERNMENT

18. RAWSON OUTLINED THE U.S. POSITION ON FORMATION OF A NEW GOVERNMENT IN RWANDA. HE SAID THAT WE BELIEVE THE SPIRIT OF ARUSHA OFFERS THE BEST SOLUTION AND THAT A NEW GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE BASED ON POWERSHARING WHICH RESULTS FROM SERIOUS DIALOGUE AMONG THE RELEVANT POLITICAL FORCES, NOT THROUGH MILITARY CONQUEST. RAWSON STRESSED THAT THIS APPROACH WAS NECESSARY IF THE RESULTING GOVERNMENT IS TO BE ACCEPTED BY THE POPULATION OR HAVE ANY LEGITIMACY. WHILE WE WOULD NOT PURPORT TO DICTATE TO RWANDANS HOW TO HANDLE THEIR AFFAIRS, WE BELIEVED THAT AN OPEN SOCIETY AND TRUE POWERSHARING CAN HELP BRING PEACE

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AND RECONCILIATION. HE SAID RWANDANS MUST HAVE A RWANDA MODEL, NOT ONE IMPORTED FROM THE U.S., UGANDA, OR ANYWHERE ELSE. RAWSON ALSO INFORMED THE LOCAL RPF REPS OF THE DECISION TO RECOGNIZE NO GOVERNMENT IN RWANDA. HE STRESSED THAT THE DECISION DID NOT RELATE TO ANY RECENT EVENTS, SUCH AS THE RPF'S TAKING OF KIGALI OR ITS ANNOUNCED INTENTION TO FORM A GOVERNMENT. GAHIMA AND MURIGANDE MERELY ACKNOWLEDGED THIS INFORMATION.

19. THE RPF REITERATED THEIR POSITION THAT THE MRND HAD DISQUALIFIED ITSELF FROM PARTICIPATION IN THE GOVERNMENT. THE MRND, AS A GROUP, HAD PARTICIPATED IN THE MASSACRES AND NONE OF ITS LEADERS HAS EVER CONDEMNED THE ATROCITIES. RAWSON STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF HAVING AS BROAD A GOVERNMENT AS POSSIBLE, WITHOUT INCLUDING THE KILLERS, AND ONE THAT WAS TRULY REPRESENTATIVE OF ALL REGIONS OF RWANDA. IT IS CRUCIAL THAT THE POPULATION FEELS THEY HAVE A GOVERNMENT WHICH SPEAKS FOR THEM. IN THIS REGARD, WE WOULD BE CONCERNED IF THERE WERE A TOTAL EXCLUSION OF THE MRND, IF INNOCENT MRND LEADERS OR

20. THE RPF REPS THOUGHT THAT A NEW BROAD-BASED GOVERNMENT MIGHT BE ANNOUNCED BY SUNDAY. IT WAS JUST A MATTER OF HAVING THE PARTIES (OTHER THAN THE MRND) CHOOSE THEIR MINISTERS AND HAVE THE OTHERS AGREE TO THEM. IN ADDITION, DISCUSSIONS WERE UNDERWAY ON DIVIDING THE FIVE MRND CABINET SEATS. THE RPF REPS COULD NOT CONFIRM PRESS REPORTS THAT THE RPF WOULD HAVE THE PRESIDENCY.

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ACCOUNTABILITY

21. RAWSON TOLD THE RPF THAT WE STRONGLY SUPPORT INTERNATIONAL ACCOUNTABILITY FOR THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR GENOCIDE AND OTHER VIOLATIONS OF INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW. HE SAID WE ARE PUSHING FOR ACCELERATION OF THE WORK OF THE SPECIAL RAPPOREUR AND THE RECENTLY APPROVED COMMISSION OF EXPERTS. HE ADDED THAT WE OURSELVES ARE GOING THROUGH OUR FILES TO PROVIDE INFORMATION TO THE COMMISSION AS PART OF THE PROCESS OF PREPARING TO BRING PEOPLE TO JUSTICE.

NON-PAPER

22. AT THE END OF THE MEETING, AF/C PRESENTED THE RPF REPS WITH A NON-PAPER SUMMARIZING OUR POINTS. TEXT IS AS FOLLOWS:

BEGIN TEXT

IT IS IMPERATIVE THAT THERE BE AN IMMEDIATE CEASE-FIRE. THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IS OVERWHELMED BY THE INFLUX OF REFUGEES FLEEING THE RPF ADVANCE. THE FIGHTING MUST STOP NOW OR ELSE RWANDA AND THE REGION WILL FACE A HUMANITARIAN DISASTER OF UNPRECEDENTED PROPORTIONS.

WE ARE DISTURBED BY THE RPF'S GROWING LIST OF PRECONDITIONS TO A CEASE-FIRE. THERE CAN BE NO

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JUSTIFICATION FOR CONTINUED FIGHTING IN THE FACE OF A
HUMANITARIAN CRISIS OF THIS MAGNITUDE.

WE DO NOT THINK YOU SHOULD REJECT OUT OF HAND THE FEELERS
SENT OUT BY MEMBERS OF THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT'S FORCES.
THE RPF MUST BE WILLING TO TALK TO THE OTHER SIDE AT SOME
LEVEL TO ARRANGE FOR A HALT TO THE FIGHTING.

WE WELCOME THE DIALOGUE YOU HAVE HAD WITH THE FRENCH. WE
URGE YOU TO COOPERATE WITH THE FRENCH-LED OPERATION,
WHICH IS PROVIDING IMPORTANT PROTECTION TO CIVILIAN
POPULATIONS AT RISK AND FACILITATING HUMANITARIAN RELIEF
EFFORTS.

WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT THE ARUSHA FRAMEWORK OFFERS
THE BEST SOLUTION TO RWANDA'S CRISIS. THE ARUSHA
PRINCIPLES OF GENUINE POWERSHARING SHOULD BE RESPECTED IN
ANY NEW GOVERNMENT.

IT IS CRUCIAL THAT RWANDANS HAVE A BROADLY BASED
REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT THAT COMES INTO BEING THROUGH
SERIOUS DIALOGUE AMONG THE RELEVANT POLITICAL FORCES AND
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NOT THROUGH MILITARY CONQUEST.

WE ARE CALLING FOR AN ACCELERATION OF THE WORK OF THE
SPECIAL RAPPOREUR AND OF THE RECENTLY APPROVED UN
COMMISSION OF EXPERTS. WE ARE IN THE PROCESS OF
COLLECTING INFORMATION FOR USE BY THE COMMISSION.

WE STRONGLY SUPPORT INTERNATIONAL ACCOUNTABILITY FOR
THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR GENOCIDE AND OTHER CRIMES AGAINST
HUMANITARIAN LAW.

END TEXT

23. DEPARTMENT INFORMED FRENCH EMBASSY AFRICA WATCHER OF
THE RESULTS OF DAS BUSHNELL'S TELEPHONE DEMARCHE AND THE

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24. BUJUMBURA - MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.
CHRISTOPHER

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